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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: CSCE

SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL ACTIONS ON CSCE AND

-- EAST-WEST RELATIONS

REF: USNATO 2485 (NOTAL)

1. SENATE ON MAY 5 ADOPTED RESOLUTION ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS, INTRODUCED BY SENATORS CRANSTON AND HUMPHREY.

2. ALSO ON MAY 5, SENATE ADOPTED BILL, SPONSORED BY SENATOR CASE, FOR CREATION OF A JOINT CONGRESSIONAL-EXECUTIVE BRANCH COMMISSION TO MONITOR CSCE IMPLEMENTATION. HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS MAY 4 HELD HEARINGS ON SIMILAR BILL, UNCLASSIFIED

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SPONSORED BY CONGRESSWOMAN FENWICK. HOUSE AND SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEES WOULD HAVE TO APPROVE AUTHORIZATION IN CASE BILL AND ANY AUTHORIZATION IN FENWICK BILL, IF IT IS REPORTED OUT OF COMMITTEE, BEFORE

BILLS WOULD BECOME EFFECTIVE.

3. IN JANUARY, DEPARTMENT IN LETTERS CONCERNING CASE-FENWICK BILLS TO CHAIRMEN OF THE SENATE AND HOUSE COMMITTEES ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS, OUTLINED STEPS US IS

TAKING TO IMPLEMENT CSCE PROVISIONS AND TO MONITOR IMPLEMENTATION BY OTHER STATES, AND TOOK POSITION THAT IN VIEW OF STEPS BEING TAKEN BY USG, AND POSSIBILITIES FOR MONITORING CSCE THROUGH EXISTING MECHANISMS, CREATION OF AN EXTRAORDINARY MONITORING COMMISSION DID NOT SEEM NECESSARY.

4. AS REQUESTED REFTTEL, TEXTS OF BILL AND RESOLUTION FOLLOW.

5. BEGIN TEXT OF CASE BILL:

BE IT ENACTED BY THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED, THAT THERE IS ESTABLISHED THE COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (HEREAFTER IN THIS ACT REFERRED TO AS THE "COMMISSION").

SEC. 2. THE COMMISSION IS AUTHORIZED AND DIRECTED TO MONITOR THE ACTS OF THE SIGNATORIES WHICH REFLECT COMPLIANCE WITH OR VIOLATION OF THE ARTICLES OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, WITH PARTICULAR REGARD TO THE PROVISIONS RELATING TO COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN FIELDS. THE COMMISSION IS FURTHER AUTHORIZED AND DIRECTED TO MONITOR AND ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS WITH A VIEW TOWARD TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT TO EXPAND EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND A GREATER INTERCHANGE OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

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SEC. 3. THE COMMISSION SHALL BE COMPOSED OF ELEVEN MEMBERS AS FOLLOWS:

(1) FOUR MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES APPOINTED BY THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. TWO MEMBERS SHALL BE SELECTED FROM THE MAJORITY PARTY AND TWO SHALL BE SELECTED, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE HOUSE, FROM THE MINORITY PARTY. THE SPEAKER SHALL DESIGNATE ONE OF THE HOUSE MEMBERS AS CHAIRMAN.

(2) FOUR MEMBERS OF THE SENATE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE. TWO MEMBERS SHALL BE SELECTED

FROM THE MAJORITY PARTY AND TWO SHALL BE SELECTED, AFTER CONSULTATION WITH THE MINORITY LEADER OF THE SENATE, FROM THE MINORITY PARTY.

(3) ONE MEMBER OF THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(4) ONE MEMBER OF THE DEFENSE DEPARTMENT APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

(5) ONE MEMBER OF THE COMMERCE DEPARTMENT APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

SEC. 4. IN CARRYING OUT THIS ACT, THE COMMISSION MAY REQUIRE, BY SUBPOENA OR OTHERWISE, THE ATTENDANCE AND TESTIMONY OF SUCH WITNESSES AND THE PRODUCTION OF SUCH BOOKS, RECORDS, CORRESPONDENCE, MEMORANDUMS, PAPERS, AND DOCUMENTS AS IT DEEMS NECESSARY. SUBPOENAS MAY BE ISSUED OVER THE SIGNATURE OF THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION OR ANY MEMBER DESIGNATED BY HIM, AND MAY BE SERVED BY ANY PERSON DESIGNATED BY THE CHAIRMAN OR SUCH MEMBER. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE COMMISSION, OR ANY MEMBER DESIGNATED BY HIM, MAY ADMINISTER OATHS TO ANY WITNESS.

SEC. 5. IN ORDER TO ASSIST THE COMMISSION IN CARRYING
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OF ITS DUTIES, THE PRESIDENT SHALL SUBMIT TO THE COMMISSION A SEMIANNUAL REPORT, THE FIRST ONE TO BE SUBMITTED SIX MONTHS AFTER THE DATE OF ENACTMENT OF THIS ACT, WHICH SHALL INCLUDE (1) A DETAILED SURVEY OF ACTIONS BY THE SIGNATORIES OF THE FINAL ACT REFLECTING COMPLIANCE WITH OR VIOLATION OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT, AND (2) A LISTING AND DESCRIPTION OF PRESENT OR PLANNED PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES OF THE APPROPRIATE AGENCIES OF THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH AND PRIVATE ORGANIZATIONS AIMED AT TAKING ADVANTAGE OF THE PROVISIONS OF THE FINAL ACT TO EXPAND EAST-WEST ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND TO PROMOTE A GREATER INTERCHANGE OF PEOPLE AND IDEAS BETWEEN EAST AND WEST.

SEC. 6. THE COMMISSION IS AUTHORIZED AND DIRECTED TO REPORT TO THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND THE SENATE WITH RESPECT TO THE MATTERS COVERED BY THIS ACT ON A PERIODIC BASIS, AND TO PROVIDE INFORMATION TO MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE AND SENATE AS REQUESTED.

SEC. 7. THERE IS AUTHORIZED TO BE APPROPRIATED TO THE COMMISSION FOR EACH FISCAL YEAR AND TO REMAIN AVAILABLE UNTIL EXPENDED 250,000 DOLLARS FOR THE PURPOSE OF

CARRYING OUT THE PROVISIONS OF THIS ACT. END TEXT OF
CASE BILL.

6. BEGIN TEXT OF CRANSTON-HUMPHREY RESOLUTION.

RESOLVED, IT IS THE SENSE OF THE SENATE THAT:

(A) UNITED STATES RELATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION ARE A
CENTRAL ASPECT OF UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY, AND THUS
IT IS CRITICALLY IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOULD SORT OUT THE
DIFFICULTIES THAT EXIST IN THE SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONSHIP,
AND DEFINE THE NATIONAL INTEREST IN THAT RELATIONSHIP.

(B) WITHOUT ILLUSIONS ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES
WHICH SEPARATE THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, WE
BELIEVE THAT THE SURVIVAL OF THE VALUES WE CHERISH IN OUR
FREE SOCIETY REQUIRES THE MOST CAREFUL AND JUDICIOUS REGU-
LATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THESE TWO GREAT POWERS. WE
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PROCEED, THEN, FROM A RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT THE
UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION HAVE, AND ARE LIKELY TO
HAVE FOR SOME TIME, MANY COMPETITIVE AND CONFLICTING
INTERESTS. BUT WE BELIEVE, NEVERTHELESS, THAT IT IS IN
THE INTEREST OF BOTH COUNTRIES TO REGULATE THIS COMPETI-
TION AND THESE CONFLICTS SO THAT THEY DO NOT LEAD TO WAR.

(C) THE BASIC PREMISE OF THE UNITED STATES APPROACH TO
THIS RELATIONSHIP IS THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST REMAIN
UNCHALLENGEABLY STRONG MILITARILY, BOTH TO INSURE UNITED
STATES SECURITY AND TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE SECURITY OF OUR
FRIENDS AND ALLIES ABROAD. THIS MILITARY STRENGTH MUST
INCLUDE A STRATEGIC CAPABILITY WHICH IS FULLY SUFFICIENT
TO DETER ANY SOVIET ATTACK ON THE UNITED STATES OR ITS
ALLIES, AND WHICH LEAVES NO ROOM FOR MISPERCEPTION BY THE
SOVIET UNION OF OUR READINESS AND DETERMINATION TO DEFEND
OUR VITAL INTERESTS AND ALLIES.

(D) BEYOND THIS DETERMINATION TO DO ALL THAT IS NECESSARY
TO DEFEND AND PROTECT OUR NATION, WE BELIEVE THAT AN
INTEGRAL PART OF OUR NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY SHOULD BE
TO SEEK THROUGH NEGOTIATIONS TO REDUCE, MODERATE, AND
STABILIZE THE MILITARY COMPETITION BETWEEN THE UNITED
STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, IN THE BELIEF THAT THE
LESSENING OF INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS MUST REMAIN A CONTINUING
UNITED STATES GOAL, WE THEREFORE SUPPORT:

(1) EFFORTS TO CONCLUDE, AS SOON AS PRACTICABLE, NEO-
TIATIONS ON A TIMELY BASIS TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES
OF THE NOVEMBER 1974 VLADIVOSTOK ACCORDS AND, IN ADDITION,
TO CONTINUE TO NEGOTIATE TO REDUCE MUTUALLY THE STRATEGIC
MILITARY FORCES PERMITTED EACH COUNTRY UNDER THOSE ACCORDS.

THESE AGREEMENTS, TO BE SUBMITTED TO THE SENATE AS A TREATY, SHOULD BE BASED UPON ACTIONS FOUNDED ON CLEARLY STATED AND VERIFIABLE STIPULATIONS.

(2) INITIATIVES ON THE PART OF BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION DEMONSTRATING A COMMITMENT TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN PRESENT AND POTENTIAL AREAS OF CONFLICT, IN WAYS CONSISTENT WITH THE MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS
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OF BOTH POWERS TO REFRAIN FROM SEEKING ADVANTAGES BY EXPLOITING TROUBLED AREAS OF THE WORLD.

(3) OTHER DIPLOMATIC, ECONOMIC, COMMERCIAL, AND CULTURAL INITIATIVES WHICH ARE UNDERTAKEN WITH A CAREFUL REGARD FOR THE BALANCE OF RISKS AND ADVANTAGES, WHICH ARE IMPLEMENTED ON A MUTUAL AND RECIPROCAL BASIS, WHICH ARE CONSISTENT WITH THE ECONOMIC AND NATIONAL SECURITY INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND WHICH SUPPORT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ARTICLES OF THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE--PARTICULARLY THE PROVISIONS RELATING TO RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN FIELDS.

(4) TAKING ACTIONS IN ALL THESE MATTERS IN CLOSE CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION WITH OUR ALLIES.

SEC. 2. THE PRINCIPLE THAT ANY FUTURE TREATY OR AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION SHALL NOT LIMIT THE UNITED STATES TO LEVELS OF INTERCONTINENTAL STRATEGIC FORCES INFERIOR TO THE LIMITS PROVIDED FOR THE SOVIET UNION.

SEC. 3. A JOINT EFFORT ON THE PART OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION TO BRING ABOUT THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL BY CUBA OF ALL OF HER ARMED FORCES FROM AFRICA.

SEC. 4. FINALLY, THE AMERICAN OBJECTIVE IS TO ACHIEVE INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND PEACE IN THE WORLD. WE BELIEVE THAT THE PEOPLE OF OUR COUNTRY WANT THEIR GOVERNMENT TO TRANSLATE THIS ASPIRATION INTO PRACTICAL MEASURES. WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE POSSIBILITIES FOR CONSTRUCTIVE COOPERATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION MAY BE LIMITED BUT WE DECLARE IT TO BE THE AMERICAN PURPOSE TO CARRY ON A PROCESS WHOSE ULTIMATE AIM IS TO ENLARGE THE SPHERE OF COOPERATION AS MUCH AS MAY PROVE POSSIBLE.

SEC. 5. (A) THE CONGRESS FINDS THAT --

(1) THE THREE BALTIC NATIONS OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND

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LITHUANIA HAVE BEEN ILLEGALLY OCCUPIED BY THE SOVIET UNION SINCE WORLD WAR II;

(2) THE SOVIET UNION APPEARS TO INTERPRET THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, SIGNED AT HELSINKI, AS GIVING PERMANENT STATUS TO THE SOVIET UNION'S ILLEGAL ANNEXATION OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA; AND

(3) ALTHOUGH NEITHER THE PRESIDENT NOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE ISSUED A SPECIFIC DISCLAIMER IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE SIGNING OF THE FINAL ACT AT HELSINKI TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THE UNITED STATES STILL DOES NOT RECOGNIZE THE FORCIBLE CONQUEST OF THOSE NATIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION, BOTH THE PRESIDENT IN HIS PUBLIC STATEMENT OF JULY 25, 1975, AND THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EUROPEAN AFFAIRS IN HIS TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS OF THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS STATED QUITE EXPLICITLY THAT THE LONGSTANDING OFFICIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES ON NONRECOGNITION OF THE SOVIET UNION'S FORCIBLE INCORPORATION AND ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC NATIONS IS NOT AFFECTED BY THE RESULTS OF THE EUROPEAN SECURITY CONFERENCE.

(B) NOTWITHSTANDING ANY INTERPRETATION WHICH THE SOVIET UNION OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY MAY ATTEMPT TO GIVE TO THE FINAL ACT OF THE CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE, SIGNED IN HELSINKI, IT IS THE SENSE OF THE CONGRESS

(1) THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN THE LONGSTANDING POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES IN NONRECOGNITION OF THE ILLEGAL SEIZURE AND ANNEXATION BY THE SOVIET UNION OF THE THREE BALTIC NATIONS OF ESTONIA, LATVIA, AND LITHUANIA, AND
(2) THAT IT WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES NOT TO RECOGNIZE IN ANY WAY THE ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC NATIONS BY THE SOVIET UNION.

SEC. 6. THIS RESOLUTION SHALL BE TRANSMITTED BY THE SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

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